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Locality

New Ireland is divided into nine main linguistic units, which are further subdivided into smaller units based on differences in dialect. People who live twenty miles distant do not understand each other. There is no tribal, political, or other social relationship between these linguistic units. Even the villages of one linguistic section do not act as a unit. They have no common chief, and until recently, when it was prohibited by the white Government, there was fighting between the villages of the same linguistic unit. To-day there is jealousy and absence of any united feeling among them. It is merely a geographical area, separated from other areas by its language, but other than that it has no cohesion and does not even have a name. The village, with its distinct round of life, its chief, its important old men, its communal rites, its communally owned ground, its gossip and mass of trivial details which make up life, is the largest functioning unit based on locality. To-day, inter-village life within the same linguistic unit is confined mostly to important ritual occasions, when members of near-by villages congregate.

The village is subdivided into hamlets. Lesu, the village where I lived, has 232 inhabitants, and stretches along the coast for about three miles. It is divided into fifteen hamlets, separated from one another by fences and sometimes also by unused land. Each hamlet contains from two to eight houses. The larger hamlets have their men's house and cemetery, and every hamlet has its own communal cooking-ground and sometimes a cookhouse. The only orientation in the arrangement of houses is that the men's house and cemetery are near the sea. Each hamlet also has its name and a community life of its own, apart from its participation in the village life, and its members are frequently close relatives, but not always so. The women cook together and the men assist each other in their fishing and house-building.

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621 Each member of this small community knows every other member well, his virtues, his faults, his little foibles and idiosyncrasies, and it is within these groups that one finds the choicest bits of gossip. Every native is identified with a certain hamlet as well as village. Thus, he is a man from Penguli, or Ponembatawa, as well as a member of the village of Lesu. His deepest roots are in the hamlet, and when he dies it is to the cemetery of the hamlet in which he was born that he is brought to be buried. As matrilocal residence is the rule, a man is frequently buried in a hamlet other than that in which he was living.[1]

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592 The next smallest grouping according to locality is the household, which corresponds, in general, to the individual family, consisting of parents and children. Should a man have two wives, each wife will usually have her own house, although if there is a great difference in their ages, one being very old and decrepit, they frequently occupy the same house. The unmarried men and the boys, after the age of nine or ten, sleep in the men's house. There is no girls' house corresponding to the men's house, and the girls sleep at home until they are married. The usual occupants of each house are thus, the husband and wife, the female unmarried children, and young male children. But even though the older boys may sleep at the men's house, they participate in the life of the household. Just as each hamlet

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[1] In the past, before white contact, the hamlets of Lesu formed two villages. The present six hamlets at the northern end (Simbelmalum, Ponamsambuat, Ponembwam, Ponembatawa, Ponmeniliasau, and Ponatlege) were known as the village of Tagam, and the remaining nine hamlets (Onel, Panat, Logok, Pantes, Penguli, Tarengam, Pencil, Sapone, Penbumbu) were the Lesu village. Each had their own chief, and there was constant fighting caused by thefts of women and pigs between the two villages. While war has been abolished and the two villages are now united, a certain division is still maintained between them. For instance, the boys of Tagam are still circumcised separately from the boys of Lesu. The members of the two places attend each other's rites, but there is no really close intimacy between them.

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439 goods. Each year this economic bond between European and native residents grows stronger, and the two racial interests become more inter-dependent.

651 The native inhabitants pay taxes to the Government, and keep
491 150 miles of road between Kavieng and Karu in proper order for motor traffic, each village group being responsible for its own section.

797 These are some of the principal developments in the material life of the people as a result of European settlement. On the cultural and
177 social life, chiefly due to mission influence, additional far-reaching changes have taken place, and these increase as the missions expand. Two mission organizations are now operating in the district—Roman Catholic and Methodist. The principal Roman Catholic stations are at Lemakot, Munuwai and Lemasong, and those of the Methodist Mission are at Majom and Pinigindu.

177 The progress of European organizations has transformed the life
18- of the natives, whose indigenous institutions have either died out or, like the *malagans*, are tottering to extinction with scarcely a hope of surviving the present generation. The people of coming generations will have to fit into the social and religious fabric being woven for them by the driving force of European industrial, religious and administrative control now thoroughly established in the district.

114 With the object of making the survey in question, I left Rabaul
121 on Saturday, 23rd March, 1929, and on Monday, the 25th March, commenced work in the villages between Kavieng and Karu. Completing the preliminary census on the 11th May, I came back to Rabaul to tabulate my notes, and, this done, returned to the east coast villages, where I remained from the 1st June until the 26th June, investigating special phenomena indicated by the tables.

121 Thus the work was divided into two parts, firstly, an enumeration of the population in their villages, and, secondly, an investigation of the figures together with social and religious features seemingly of value to the issue.

125 A specimen of the form used in recording the names and demographic features of the inhabitants is appended. (Appendix 1.) In regard to the actual method, however, a generalized explanation is necessary.

361 The inhabitants live in small family settlements along the coast-line,
621 excepting mountain and forest groups, who reside in the bush. Each settlement has its own small plot of land, clumps of coco-nut trees, and two or three living houses. They are scattered along the whole coast-line a few yards or 100 yards or so apart, according to the political boundaries and space available. A group of several family settlements forms a political division, which is administered by the Government with the aid of local natives of influence and repute, who are appointed Luluai and Tul-tul and officiate under the supervision of the District Officer according to authority set out in the Native Administration

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Ordinance. The political division, therefore, is the unit of government. In the centre of the settlements thus grouped together is the local government rest house (House Kiap), where official business is usually conducted. Throughout the paper I shall call political divisions "villages."

As the settlements themselves are scattered at irregular intervals in long straggling lines (sometimes a mile or more in length), I found it more convenient in collecting my data to follow the usual practice and call every one to the House Kiap for interrogation.

It would have been better, however, had I examined the various families where they lived and recorded the information alongside each house. This course would have taken up much more time, but it would have enabled me to see and talk to old, sick, and infirm people who had not been able to assemble at the House Kiap—people, who, though few in numbers, might have had important information for the records. During my investigation, information regarding such absentees was supplied by the local Lulunais and friends of the missing ones. From the point of view of method, therefore, it is important that everyone should be seen and interrogated personally in the place where he lives.

The people were given notice of my coming, and invariably they were ready for interrogation the moment I arrived in a recording centre, i.e., the village House Kiap. Nearly everyone understood "pidgin English", but nevertheless competent interpreters, together with the more intelligent of the older men of each village, stood by to assist. The reason for the work and its relation to administrative activities for native welfare were explained in each village, and the importance of exactitude was stressed. Men and women were then called up and interrogated in turn. In each case, the birth-place of the husband and wife was entered for the purpose of investigating systems of inter-village marriage. Ages of men, women, and children could only be estimated. Males and females said to have passed the reproductive age are recorded as "old". Children apparently having passed the age of puberty appear in the age group as fourteen years and over. Opposite each man's name are all the women he has at any time married, and in line with each of these wives are the names of her male and female children, entered in order of birth. Those absent at school or work appear in a special column with the necessary additional particulars. The children of each marriage who have died were given by name (friends assisting where the memory of the mother was weak), but in the columns of deaths they appear as follows ♂ ♀ males and females dying during lactation, ♂ ♀ males and females stillborn, ♂ ♀ males and females dying after lactation. Special note is also made of first-born children who have died during lactation.

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As I have already pointed out, the people of the East coast of New Ireland live in small family settlements along the seashore, while the bush groups live in the forest and mountain ranges running parallel with the coast. A number of these settlements form a village. The village is the unit of administration and each one has its government representative who facilitates the work of the District Officers. The senior native representative is known as Luluai, and his assistants Tul-tul: the Tul-tuls vary in number according to the importance of the village. Each village has in addition a native trained in the government hospitals to administer simple treatment to the sick; he is known as the Medical Tul-tul, and he generally has a small building at his disposal, in which drugs are kept and the sick are treated.

Between Kavieng and Karu there are 68 political or village divisions. Their names and distance from Kavieng are as follow:—

Name of Village Plantations in Capital Letters.	Distance from Kavieng.
Kulangit	At Kavieng
Bagail	,,
Mungal	,,
Omo	,,
Maiom	Near Kavieng
PANAPAI	4½ miles
Papliang	
Bobai	
Kapliman	
Kaselok	
KASELOK	
Putput	
WALUS	
ULUL	20 ,,
Nono	
Ngavelus	
Lovong-ai	
KAPSU	25 ,,
Losuk	
KATU..	28 ,,
Mangai	
Livitua	
Laowan	
Vongararum	
Paruai	
Lakura fanga	
LAKURAFANGA	37 ,,
BAIA	39 ,,
Nonapai	
Sali	
Lamekot	
LAMEKOT	42 ,,
Fongalava	
FONGALAVA	44½ ,,
Luburua	
LUBURUA	46 ,,
Lakuruman	
LAKURUMAU	48 ,,
MARAMAKAS	50 ,,

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Name of Village Plantations in Capital Letters.	Distance from Kavieng.
361 FILIBA	52 miles
MUNUWAI	
621 Munuwai	
103 Laraibina	
Roman Catholic Mission	
Lugagun	
LUGAGUN	55 „
Madina	
MADINA	
Luaupul	
FISOA	62 „
Fisoa	
KAFKAF	64 „
Kafkaf	66 „
Fatmilak	69½ „
Limalaua	
BOLAGILA	74½ „
Tandis	75½ „
Limba	
LIMBA	77 „
Yendat	
Lang-inia	78½ „
LASSU	
Lassu	
Amba	
Letatan	
LEMASONG	87½ „
Lemasong	
Roman Catholic Mission	
Konnos	
Konobin	
Methodist Mission	
Pinigindu	
PINIGINDU	96½ „
KATEMBONG	97 „
Tekirot	
KATENDAN	99 „
Katendan	
Lambuso	
KIMADEN	104 „
Malom	107 „
Lasigi	
Watkana	
Kanagnusgnus	
Livinko	
KANDAN	114 „
Kandan	
Limbin	
Kantebu	
Bumbuwe	120 „
Lemaris	122 „
Kanambu	124 „
Watlamo	
Panatgin	126 „
Dabinot	
Silom	128 „
Katenda	
Bulu	130 „
Logon	137 „
Kanam	140 „
Karu	147 „
KARU	147 „

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Fatmilak there are numerous sub-divisions which appear to have an important bearing in matters relating to land. The place of the sub-division in the life of the people between Kavieng and Fatmilak is a subject for further investigation. 614

However small its place in the groups north of Fatmilak, the sub-division of the people between Limalaua and Karu plays a most important part in social organization, culture and economic and land transactions. It constantly crops up in the mythology, and appears to be the unit of all important social phenomena. The sub-division may be an earlier form of social organization than the dual grouping into which the numerous sub-divisions are now divided. In the bush group of Limalaua I was given vague information to the effect that the sub-divisions of the eagle *minungak* are also sub-divisions of *ilok*, a black bush bird, and that the sub-divisions of the hawk *yarangam* are sub-divisions of *kugigama* an owl, but I had neither the time nor the opportunity to discover exactly what this meant.

During land inquiries held by me a whole series of stories was revealed, connected with the mythical origin of some of the sub-divisions, the members of which are now widely dispersed, some of them far from the villages where the groups are said to have originated. When land has to be bought from natives, claimants spring up from every direction, many of them far away from the land in question. The stories also account for certain migratory movements of the members of the sub-divisions, and shed an interesting light on such factors as inter-marriage and fission in the dispersal and distribution of social groupings. 773 614

The social groupings, therefore, to which an individual has definite obligations are his sub-division, his clan, his totem, his place of residence and his village or political unit, each of which plays an important part in regulating his material and cultural life. 614 621

Between Fatmilak and Karu the land appears to be owned by the sub-divisions or sub-groups, and each member of a sub-group appears to have vague individual rights to certain portions of the land of his group. He has, for instance, the right to allow any person, either of his own or the opposite clan, to make a garden on his land, which privilege, on the death of the holder, is subsequently inherited by his sister's children and own children. He has also the right to allow any person to plant coco-nut trees or any other useful trees on the land. and these trees may also be inherited as above. No person, however, appears to be able to dispose of any land without the consent of the other members of his sub-group, and, when payment is eventually made for the land purchased, all persons sharing in the benefits of the land share also in the purchase money. This is paid to the sub-group owners, and by them distributed according to their obligations. 423 614 [428]

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Around food also is focused much of the prestige of an individual in his family. Here a man's standing is largely dependent upon his ability as a food provider and the woman's upon her industry in preparing the food. Failure on the part of either partner to fulfill these obligations is sufficient cause for a divorce.

Social Organization

Before describing the feasts and showing the way in which much of life centers around food, it is necessary to give a very brief description of the essentials of the social organization. There are two exogamous moieties, the Eagle and the Hawk, which are subdivided into clans. Descent is matrilineal, the clan consisting of an extended family, all related through the female line. The next kinship unit in order of size is the individual family, which may be monogamous, is frequently polygamous, and occasionally polyandric.

On the basis of locality the largest unit is the village. In the district where I lived there are five villages forming one linguistic unit. This is not and never has been, as far as I could observe, a political unit. In the past, warfare was frequent between the villages and there neither was nor is one chief for all of them, each having its own. The village is subdivided into hamlets,—Lesu into fifteen. Residence is matrilocal and so a hamlet will usually have many female members of the same clan. The hamlet has from two to seven or eight houses, each one having its communal cooking ground and generally a cook house also, for use on rainy days. With the exception of the very small ones, a hamlet has its own cemetery and men's house.

The society is agricultural. Gardening, fishing, hunting wild pigs, and cooking are the main everyday occupations. Trading is important and carried on according to exact and traditional rules. The familiar Melanesian gift-exchange is also practiced.

Frequency of Feasts

After living in this society for only a short time, one is impressed by the great frequency of feasts. The following is a list of occasions on which they are held.

Occasion	Name
Pregnancy	ɑnɪng asɪl tsɛgɣ (eating for infant)
Birth	Grɪmɣsi (name of dance performed by women at this rite)
Giving name to infant	Basisis (name)
Several months after birth if infant is strong	ɑnɪng asɪl wɐtwɐt tsegɣ (eating for strong infant)

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537 which he walked up and down singing and talking. He gave once more the
574 reason for the feast, said they had now "marked" all the pigs, and then made a few more remarks about the size of the animals and the number of men present.

[285] Finally, each man makes a rude coconut-leaf basket in which he carries home the remains of his food. But before they leave, the men carefully
574 clean the cemetery and throw all debris into the sea, near which the cemetery is always placed. Not a scrap of food nor any other refuse, such as
764 a leaf "plate," remains, the cemetery being left in the same neat condition
[515] that it was in before the feast. This work done, hands are washed in the sea (the sea as a finger bowl is one of its many uses for the native), and then the men drift away singly or in small groups, each carrying his basket with the remains of the food.

Reciprocity Between Moieties

437 This ritual feast, held on all occasions of importance to the individual or
616 to society, is also frequently the time when the principle of reciprocity be-
574 tween both moieties and localities is seen in full play.

At the feminine feasts, such as pregnancy, birth, first menstruation, and marriage, where there is a distribution of food, the women of the Eagle moiety bring taro which is given to the women of the Hawk moiety, and the women of the Hawk moiety likewise bring taro which in turn is given to the women of the Eagle moiety. This exchange is never omitted. The Eagle women bring their taro, prepare it for baking, and then place it in the liga themselves. They do not forget just where their bundles have been placed. Removing them from the liga, they give them to the women of the Hawk moiety, who do likewise to the women of the Eagle moiety. The taro is of course all exactly the same and prepared in the same fashion, so that one gets exactly what one has given. But it is the ritual exchange between the moieties that is important. At some feasts uncooked taro is exchanged. At the feast, when the men eat, this act of reciprocity does not take place among them: the food is opened up in the cemetery and the taro is distributed regardless of moiety.

Reciprocity Between Villages

437 It is the uncooked taro that is most often the object of exchange be-
574 tween the women of different villages at intervillage feasts—usually mor-
621 tuary and malanggon ones. Sometimes the exchange does not always take place at the one feast. The women of Lesu may go to a feast at Ambwa, three miles away, and receive much taro. At a later time the women of Ambwa will come to a similar feast at Lesu and receive taro as a return gift.

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At other times the exchange may be effected at the same feast. In the same way, men of Libba will eat at a feast at Lesu, and later the Lesu men will eat at a Libba feast. A feast thus provides the occasion when both individuals and groups pay off their obligations.

Feminine Speeches about Husbands

At the ritual feasts of circumcision, birth, and marriage, another custom is given an opportunity for expression. At these feasts it is customary for the women to make speeches about their husbands, as good or bad food-providers. The food is arranged in two piles, one contributed by the Eagle moiety, and the other by the Hawk. The Eagle women come on the scene together, each brandishing a masculine implement of work—a fishing net, a spade, etc. They circle around the pile of food contributed by the Hawk moiety, each woman in turn holding up a tool and making a speech about her husband. If she carries a net, she talks about his industry in fishing and how he very often brings her fish. Or she may say the opposite,—how lazy he is. Each woman makes her speech, and the "audience," male and female, listens to it with quiet appreciation. There are grins and chuckles during a speech about a lazy man, while he hangs his head in shame. When the women of one moiety have finished, the other women enter and go through the same procedure. The speeches show very clearly how much the man's prestige in his family depends upon his ability as a provider of food. These ritual feasts give the women the opportunity of publicly praising or blaming their husbands and they never let it pass by.

Daily Meals

Feasts are of course not the only time when natives eat. When they get up at sunrise, they will eat a cold baked taro left over from the day before. But this is not a meal. The man will often munch his taro as he strolls about the beach, while the woman will eat her's casually as she tidies the house or collects her implements, baskets, etc. to go to the garden. In the middle of the afternoon, when they have returned from the gardens, if hungry, another cold baked taro will be eaten casually. But after the sun has set there is the family meal. The food for this is sometimes prepared by the wife, or wife and daughter together, and at other times the women of the hamlet may cook communally. The baked food is later taken to each individual household. There, in the open compound in front of the house, each family gathers around the fire and partakes of the common meal. Certainly this meal emphasizes the unity of the family and tends to foster those sentiments which hold the family together—just as the feasts keep alive the sentiments binding larger groups.